The conversion of native religious communities to the Augustinian Rule in twelfth- and thirteenth-century *Alba*

KENNETH VEITCH, M.A., Ph.D.

Introduction

One of the most striking, yet oft-overlooked, aspects of the medieval Scottish church is the extent to which it conformed to a pre-twelfth-century pattern of religious settlement. This took a number of forms, ranging from the new monastery which was established on or near an abandoned religious site of historic significance, to the parish carved out of an old ecclesiastical estate. The importance of such continuity of settlement to the successful introduction of reformed religious life into Scotland and its subsequent expansion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries should not be under-estimated. For, by preserving, and even revitalising, traditional ecclesiastical networks and thus providing readily apparent physical expression to the interrelationship between the pre- and post-1100 Scottish church, it facilitated the transition from the traditional to the reformed. This is especially the case as continuity of site often also resulted in the continuity of other aspects of pre-twelfth-century religious life, further helping to engender the balance between old and new which was to distinguish the *ecclesia Scoticana* as a whole.

One of the most obvious manifestations of ecclesiastical continuity in medieval Scotland is the native church which assumed a reformed role. Examples of this include the conversion of the *céle Dé* communities of Brechin and Dunkeld into secular cathedral chapters; the re-constitution of the monastery of Iona as a Benedictine abbey; the transformation of the *céle Dé* community of St Andrews into a college of secular clerks; as well as the many local churches and chapels which became parish churches.[1] The study of this organizational re-alignment is of crucial importance to the greater understanding of the medieval

---

[1] For discussions on some of these events, see G.W.S. Barrow, "The clergy at St Andrews", in his *The Kingdom of the Scots:Government, Church and Society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century* (London, 1973), 212-32; A. Macquarrie, "Kings, Lords and Abbots: power and patronage at the medieval monastery of Iona", *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 54 (1984-6), 355-75; idem, "Early Christian religious houses in Scotland: foundation and function", in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, edd. J. Blair & R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 110-33; J.M. Rogers, "The formation of parishes in twelfth-century Perthshire", *ante*, 27 (1997), 68-96.

Scottish church; although one which cannot be easily achieved in a single, short paper. The following discussion will therefore focus upon one particular aspect of this process – the native church which converted to the Augustinian rule.

An early, if somewhat ill-defined, example of this seminal process is provided by the conversion of the early church of Scone. This was achieved through the reforming zeal of Alexander I (who also planned Augustinian convents at Inchcolm, Loch Tay and St Andrews), with the help of canons from Nostell Priory in Yorkhsire.[2] More explicit evidence, however, is presented by the transformation of the native communities of Abernethy, Inchaffray, Lochleven and Monymusk between 1152 and 1273.[3] By studying each of these houses individually, it is consequently possible to gain an appreciation of the impulses behind and the dynamics of not only the widespread adoption of the Augustinian rule by existing religious communities in Alba, but also the reform of native forms of organized religious life in Scotland as a whole.

Lochleven

The transformation of the *céle Dé* monastery of Lochleven into an Augustinian priory by David I and Bishop Robert of St Andrews is perhaps one of the most striking examples of the conversion of a native religious community to a reformed rule. This is not only because documents relating to this conversion have survived, but also because they suggest that the king and bishop imposed the Augustinian rule on an unwilling native community. It is thus stated in David's charter that he had

> given and granted to the canons of St Andrews the island of Lochleven, that they might establish canonical order there; and the *céli Dé* who shall be found there, if they consent to live as regulars, shall be permitted to remain in society with, and subject to, the others; but should any of them be disposed to offer resistance, his will and pleasure is that such should be expelled from the island.[4]

---

[2] See K. Veitch, "The monastic policy of Alexander I" (forthcoming).
[3] For evidence, see I.B. Cowan & D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1976), 89, 91, 93.
[4] *Early Scottish Charters prior to AD1153*, ed. A.C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), no. 232.

Reflecting the proprietorial rights which the bishop of St Andrews had enjoyed over the house of Lochleven since the agreement made between Abbot Rónán and Bishop Fothad mac Brain in the mid tenth century,[5] Bishop Robert correspondingly conveyed the actual monastery to the canons.[6] The paternal relationship envisaged by Rónán and Fothad nevertheless appears to have been betrayed by Bishop Robert when, in what may have been a move designed to herald the end of the early church era at the monastery of Lochleven and emphasize its loss of independence, he also transferred the *céli Dé*'s holy vestments to the priory of St Andrews.[7] Under pressure from the most powerful secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland, both of whose predecessors had sworn to protect them,[8] the *céli Dé* of Lochleven were thus suppressed and, perhaps at best, permitted to become subordinate Augustinian canons.

The suppression of the ancient *céle Dé* community by King David and Bishop Robert could indicate that the reformers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were inherently hostile to existing ecclesiastical provisions. It can be argued, nevertheless, that the conversion of Lochleven was atypical. For example, throughout the eleventh, and even into the twelfth, century, the *céli Dé* of Lochleven had been patronized by successive members of the royal dynasty and various bishops of St Andrews.[9] By the early twelfth century, it is therefore likely to have been one of the most important and wealthiest religious sites in Alba. The self-confidence which this engendered in the community is evident in their vigorous attack upon a neighbouring secular rival, Robert the Burgundian, whom they condemned as 'that fire and furnace of all iniquity'.[10] Unlike many other native religious communities at this time, there is no evidence to suggest that Lochleven's original discipline had been weakened by secularization. In contrast to the house of Abernethy in the neighbouring province of Strathearn,[11] there was evidently no lay abbot of Lochleven by the twelfth century, with a document of *c.* 1128 describing the head of the

---

5   The community of Lochleven resigned their property to the bishop of St Andrews on the condition that he would provide them with food, clothing and protection. *Ibid.*, no. 3.
6   *Ibid.*, no. 263.
7   *Ibid.*, no. 263.
8   *Ibid.*, nos. 3, 5-8.
9   *Ibid.*, nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 23.
10   *Ibid.*, no. 80.
11   *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, edd. G.W.S. Barrow *et al.* (Edinburgh, 1960-), ii, no. 114.

community, Dubhtach, not only as an abbot, but also as a priest.[12] Indeed, rather than experiencing a period of decline during the late 1000s and early 1100s, it is possible that the *céli Dé* of Lochleven were aware of, and had to a certain extent reacted to, current continental ecclesiastical developments.[13] That the *céli Dé* of Lochleven do not appear to have attracted the same sort of criticism which the Augustinians levelled at the *céli Dé* of St Andrews may certainly imply that they were not considered lax in their discipline.

Combined with its wealth and prestigious traditional links with the ruling dynasty, Lochleven's proposed spiritual vitality would have made it a potent force in both the politics of the Scottish church and the still native-dominated secular society of Fife. Even more significantly, it would have presented a vibrant reminder to the surrounding populace of the continuing viability of native forms of church life, especially if it had indeed begun a programme of independent self-reform. As such, it is possible that Lochleven was viewed by David I and Bishop Robert as a threat not only to the territorial and patronal ambitions of their newly founded Augustinian priory of St Andrews, but also to its probable intended role as the spiritual and practical focus for the new religious order in Fife.[14] Indeed, there may even have been a faction within the *céle Dé* community (led by the powerful and locally influential abbot?) who were hostile to the reform of the church in Fife and agitated against Bishop Robert and his patron David I.[15] It was perhaps for this reason, and not because the community was decayed, that David I (whose patronage of the *clerici* of Deer demonstrates that he was quite

---

[12]   *ESC*, no. 80.

[13]   K. Veitch, "Macbethad's pilgrimage to Rome, 1050" (forthcoming).

[14]   Added to these fears, Bishop Robert may have felt that the continuing independence of the native community jeopardized the ethos of episcopal precedence in his diocese.

[15]   Interestingly, there is evidence to suggest that David I was not popular amongst the Gaelic learned classes, perhaps because of his ambitions to "modernize" Scotland. See the Gaelic quatrain in T.O. Clancy, *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry AD 550-1350* (Canongate, 1998), 184. That the conversion of a traditional site could provoke a hostile reaction from church conservatives is forcefully demonstrated by the sacking in 1204 of the newly constructed Benedictine abbey on Iona. This was carried out by the "community of Derry and a great number of the clergy of the north" led by the abbots of Armagh and Derry, who claimed that the new abbey had violated the rights of the Columban community. Interestingly, they further attempted to restore the Columban *status quo* by deposing Cellach, the first Benedictine and the last Columban abbot, and appointing Amalgaidh, abbot of Derry, in his place. *ES*, ii, 363; Macquarrie, "Kings, Lords and Abbots", 357-8.

prepared to support a thriving native community when it was in an area outwith his own power-centre and thus posed no threat to either his secular authority or to one of his reformed monasteries)[16] and Bishop Robert (who was a patron of the *céli Dé* elsewhere in Alba)[17] felt compelled to bring Lochleven within the Augustinian fold.

Notably, there was a similar attempt by David I and Bishop Robert to incorporate a *céle Dé* community into an Augustinian convent at St Andrews itself. In this instance, the existing *céli Dé* had the option of becoming regular canons themselves or of keeping their prebends for life; the ultimate aim being "that all the estates and all the lands and alms [of the *céli Dé*] be converted to the use of the canons".[18] This endeavour failed, however, with the *céle Dé* community apparently surviving for the rest of the century before evolving into a separate college of secular clerks closely associated with king and bishop.[19] That the St Andrews *céli Dé* managed to resist David I and Bishop Robert whilst their brethren at Lochleven did not, may have been due to the greater patronal power which king and bishop wielded over the island community. It could also have been due to a greater determination on the part of David to neutralise the suggested hostile elements amongst the Lochleven clergy. It certainly demonstrates that despite the determination of the early reformers to re-constitute the Scottish church according to continental models, by the mid twelfth century the decline of native forms of organized religious life was far from inevitable.

Inchaffray

Little is known about the early history of the native religious house at Inchaffray. Indeed, it does not appear in the records until the 1190s.[20] From this late evidence it is nevertheless possible to sketch a rough picture of its character on the eve of its conversion. It was staffed by religious who were styled (evidently by non-native scribes) simply as "*fratres*" (brethren).[21] The exact meaning of this term is obscure but the brethren were possibly predominantly eremitic. They were

[16] *ESC*, no. 223; K. Jaekson, *Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge, 1972), 36, 89.

[17] *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club, 1841), 371.

[18] *ESC*, no. 233. For a diseussion, see Barrow, "The clergy at St Andrews".

[19] *Ibid.*, 223.

[20] *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, edd. W. Alexander *et al.* (Seottish History Society, 1908), nos. 1-8.

[21] *Ibid.*, nos. 2, 3, 6-8.

certainly led by men who were specifically identified as hermits.[22] Despite its name (which translates as "isle of the masses"), their house was clearly not a parish church in the sense understood by the reformers, as the brethren had to obtain special rights of sepulture from the bishop of Dunblane.[23] Nonetheless, by 1200 the community was in possession of a network of ancient local churches at which certain of the brethren may have performed pastoral services.[24] That Inchaffray was dedicated to St John the Evangelist perhaps reflected this role. Described in the thirteenth century as being surrounded by a "*fossa*" (ditch)[25] and apparently also protected by a ten-foot wide earth-bank,[26] the original house seems to have been contained within a typically early church monastic enclosure. This suggests that it had been long established by the twelfth century. The significant lack of any reference to a *céle Dé* presence at Inchaffray, however, may indicate that it was founded, or had only risen to prominence, after the expansion of this reform movement during the ninth century. It appears to have enjoyed an intimate, yet indiscernible, relationship with the comital family of Strathearn. For example, in 1198 Earl Gille Brígte and his wife Matilda chose Inchaffray as the burial site for their first-born son, Gille Críst. They also announced that they too were to be buried there.[27] Moreover, as late as *c.* 1198-1199 Earl Gille Brígte augmented the community's already extensive possessions with grants of the churches of Abruthven and Madderty, a croft of three acres at Fowlis and a teind of his *cáin*.[28]

---

[22] *Ibid.*, nos. 1, 8, 9.

[23] *Ibid.*, no. 1.

[24] *Ibid.*, no. 9. The topic of local church parochial provision in early medieval Britain and Ireland has been much discussed in recent years, but the form and function of pre-reform churches in Alba remains uncertain. See, for example, the collection of papers in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, edd. Blair and Sharpe, especially Macquarrie, "Early Christian religious houses", 110-33; T.O. Clancy, "Annat in Scotland and the origins of the parish", *IR*, 46 (1995), 91-115: I.B. Cowan, "The Development of the Parochial System", in his *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1995), 1-11; C. Etchingham. "The early Irish church: some observations on pastoral care and dues", *Ériu*, 42 (1991), 98-118; R. Sharpe, "Some problems concerning the organisation of the church in early medieval Ireland", *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 230-70.

[25] *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. 90.

[26] P. Yeoman, *Medieval Scotland* (London, 1995). 15. For a more comprehensive archaeological survey of Inchaffray, see G. Ewart, "Inchaffray Abbey. Perth and Kinross: excavation and research, 1987", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 126 (1996), 496-516.

[27] *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. 9.

[28] *Ibid.*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5.

In common with the *céle Dé* community at Lochleven, it is probable therefore that on the eve of its conversion to the Augustinian rule, the brethren at Inchaffray continued to form a living community which, far from lapsing into decadence, had actually maintained its discipline and so arguably remained a powerful and respected force in local religious society.

Interestingly, it has been proposed that the brethren tried to resist Earl Gille Brígte of Strathearn's attempt to convert their house into an Augustinian priory,[29] much in the same way as certain *céli Dé* of Lochleven may have tried to defy the similar plans of David I and Bishop Robert of St Andrews. In support of this theory, the bull issued by Pope Innocent III immediately prior to the conversion of Inchaffray is interpreted as a response to an attempt by the brethren of Inchaffray to gain papal protection against the earl's proposed changes.[30] That this bull was addressed to "I. the hermit" whilst in the foundation charter of the Augustinian priory Gille Brígte recognized Máel Ísu "presbyter and hermit" as the head of the converted convent, led to the further proposal that the former was the leader of Inchaffray's anti-reform faction and was subsequently replaced by the latter who had championed the proposed change amongst the brethren.[31] This attractive theory is apparently corroborated by the fact that Earl Gille Brígte seems to have anticipated legal challenges to the new convent from recalcitrant members of the superseded community when he declared his previous charters annulled.[32] Conflict between anti- and pro-reformers at Inchaffray could also have been the cause of the three year delay between the earl's foundation charter and Innocent III's bull of confirmation of June 1203.[33]

Persuasive though this argument may be, the same evidence can be interpreted in a way which suggests that there was no conflict between Earl Gille Brígte and the brethren. For example, papal bulls of protection, such as that requested by I., were commonly sought by religious convents throughout twelfth-century Scotland, especially when their patrimony had been augmented.[34] As aforementioned, during the mid to late 1190s Gille Brígte of Strathearn did indeed greatly increase the possessions of Inchaffray by granting it two

---

29   *Ibid.*, xxv-xxviii.
30   *Ibid.*, xxv.
31   *Ibid.*, xxvii.
32   *Ibid.*, no. 17.
33   *Ibid.*, nos. 9, 21.
34   For example, see *St A. Lib.*, 286.

churches, a croft and the teind of his *cáin*.[35] Moreover, it was evidently immediately after this succession of grants that I. solicited papal protection for his community's assets, as the bull interestingly makes specific mention of Gille Brígte's recent donations.[36] It can consequently be proposed that I., reflecting the apparently orthodox and self-confident nature of the native community of Inchaffray,[37] was simply following standard twelfth-century ecclesiastical procedure. In so doing, as when abbots of reformed monasteries requested papal protection,[38] he was not demonstrating his distrust of, or hostility towards, his patron, but merely conforming to the expectations of papal monarchism and prudently legislating against potential future challenges to his community's proprietorial rights by obtaining the protection of western Christendom's greatest temporal authority.

It is also possible to account for the community's alleged split into traditionalist and pro-reform factions under the leadership of I. and Máel Ísu, respectively. It may be, on the one hand, that Gille Brígte entrusted the reformed priory to Máel Ísu because I. (who may have been the Isaac to whom Bishop Jonathan of Dunblane had made a grant *c*. 1190)[39] had either died in the interim between writing to the papacy and 1200 or had merely become too old to implement the envisaged changes.[40] On the other, it is entirely possible that I. and Máel Ísu were the same person. The papal scribe, for instance, may have believed Máel to be an honorific which could be omitted, and unsure of Ísu, represented it simply as "I.". Finally, regarding the allegedly suspicious time-lapse between Earl Gille Brígte and Matilda's foundation charter of *c*. 1200 and the papal confirmation of 1203, there was nothing unusual in such a delay. There was, for example, a four year interval between the issuing of Lindores Abbey's foundation charter in 1191 and its first papal confirmation of 1195.[41]

[35]   *Inchaff. Chrs.*, nos. 2-5.

[36]   The bull stated that the assets of the house were to be taken into the pope's protection, "especially those possessions which G. earl of Strathearn donated to your house in alms". *Ibid.*, no. 8.

[37]   The very fact that I. wrote to the papacy demonstrates that the community recognized the authority of the pope and were thus confident of their place within the greater Catholic church.

[38]   Z.N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy* (rep. Cambridge, 1989), 184-5.

[39]   *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. 1.

[40]   Máel Ísu may have been chosen by Gille Brígte to replace I. because he was a member of the comital family of Strathearn.

[41]   *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores 1195-1479*, ed. J. Dowden (SHS, 1903), nos. 2, 93.

while in Inchcolm's case there would appear to have been a delay of at least ten years.[42]

When these points are viewed in conjunction with the fact that, in comparison with David I (who evidently did not continue the royal tradition of patronising the *céli Dé* of Lochleven), Gille Brígte was a generous benefactor of the brethren, it would appear as if the reform of Inchaffray is unlikely to have been achieved through the intimidation and partial expulsion of the existing clergy. It would alternatively suggest that throughout the mid to late 1190s, Earl Gille Brígte (who appears to have struck a balance between native and foreign traditions and practices in other areas of his comital policy),[43] with the support of the brethren, laid the groundwork of what was to be an amicable transition from native community to Augustinian convent at Inchaffray.

The completion of this conversion was allegedly marked by the transfer of a group of experienced Black Canons from an established convent to the new priory.[44] The first Augustinian prior of the new convent was nevertheless chosen from the existing clergy and, moreover, entrusted to select his own convent.[45] It is probable, therefore, that most of the canons were recruited from the former community of brethren. That Gille Brígte could delegate such responsibility to Máel Ísu,[46] not only suggests that the prior was probably a relative of the earl, but more importantly also demonstrates that, unlike David I and Bishop Robert of St Andrews' perceptions of the *céli Dé* of Lochleven, he did not consider the brethren of Inchaffray to be a threat. Importantly, by ensuring a degree of continuity in both

---

[42] Bishop Gregory quitclaimed Inchcolm's patrimony 1162x1169 in recognition of its founding, whilst Pope Alexander III confirmed its possessions in March 1179. *Inchcolm Chrs.*, nos. 1, 2. This lengthy delay was possibly caused by the upheavals in the papacy at this time. For brief details, see J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), 176-7.

[43] A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 179.

[44] The uncorroborated testimony of W. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, gen. ed. D.E.R. Watt, 9 vols. (Aberdeen & Edinburgh, 1987-1998), v, 459. In Inchaffray's foundation charter, however, it states that Gille Brígte had given Máel Ísu the authority to instruct the new canons "as he thinks fit, in the service of God and according to the rule of St Augustine". *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. 9.

[45] *Ibid.*, no. 9.

[46] Indeed, Gille Brígte and Matilda pronounced that they could "entirely rely" on Máel Ísu's "discretion and piety". *Ibid.*, no. 9. Their resolve to appoint Máel Ísu as Inchaffray Priory's first head can be compared with the similar decision of Ranald, lord of the Isles, to appoint Cellach, the abbot of Iona's Columban monastery, as the first head of the island's Benedictine Abbey.

leadership and personnel at Inchaffray, Gille Brígte would have not only provided the new priory with a cultural stability, but also helped to secure its tenure over the rights and properties of the old church.

In thus sponsoring the introduction of the Augustinian rule at Inchaffray, Gille Brígte may have been solely expressing an admiration for Anglo-French culture that had possibly been instilled in him by his marriage to Matilda d'Aubigny. More probably, however, he and his wife,[47] perhaps prompted by the death of their son Gille Críst,[48] were eager to make a pious gesture which they anticipated would re-invigorate religious life in their earldom. Certainly, their charter of *c.* 1200 states that they had sponsored the conversion of Inchaffray "wishing by the inspiration of divine grace to exalt the church of God in our fief and to sow the seeds of holy religion for the cultivation of God there."[49] Possibly the earl chose to convert Inchaffray to the Augustinian rule in order to accelerate the proposed process whereby the brethren were adopting a more pastoral role and thus ensuring that the parochialization of his earldom was undertaken by loyal, local clergy.

Whatever the case, the conversion of Inchaffray should be viewed as an integral part of the general reformation of religious life in the diocese of Dunblane during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which also included the creation of a Cistercian abbey at the ancient church of St Serf at Culross, the introduction of the Augustinian rule at Abernethy, and the formation of a system of parishes.[50] As at Inchaffray, all of these reforms conformed to the existing ecclesiastical

---

[47] Matilda was clearly considered to be the co-foundress of Inchaffray priory along with her husband. *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. 9.
[48] Inchaffray Priory's foundation charter states that it was established "especially for the soul of Gille Críst, our first-born son, who rests there". *Ibid.*, no. 9.
[49] *Ibid.*, no. 9.
[50] For Culross, see A. Macquarrie, "*Vita Sancti Servani*: the Life of St Serf", *IR*, 44 (1993), 122-52; for Abernethy, see discussion below; for parish reform, see Rogers, "The formation of parishes in twelfth-century Perthshire".

landscape, ensuring a virtually seamless transition from old to new in the diocese.[51]

Monymusk

Hector Boece, writing in the sixteenth century, recorded the tradition that Máel Coluim III, advancing against the men of Moray, arrived at Monymusk and, discovering that it was royal land, vowed it to St Andrew in order to procure him victory.[52] This led some historians to claim that Máel Coluim founded the church of Monymusk.[53] The veracity of these claims is nevertheless doubtful, as Monymusk was staffed by *céli Dé*,[54] which suggests a much earlier date for its foundation than the late eleventh century. This should not lead to the conclusion, however, that the account offered by Boece is entirely fanciful. Firstly, for example, there is evidence to suggest that Máel Coluim III did lead an expedition into Moray in 1078 from which he returned triumphant.[55] Secondly, a charter recording the boundaries between Monymusk and Keig states that "these are the marches which King Máel Coluim gave to God and the church of St Mary of Monymusk on account of the victory granted to him".[56] Thirdly, thirteenth-century documents demonstrate that the *céle Dé* community of Monymusk was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of St

---

[51]   Notably, however, the *céle Dé* community of Muthill does not appear to have been transformed into the diocesan chapter of thirteenth-century Dunblane. This was possibly due to the rise in prominence of Dunblane during the early thirteenth century. *MRHS*, 204. Significantly, Earl Gille Brígte is credited with reviving Dunblane's fortunes by granting it "a third part of [the teinds of?] his earldom". *Chron. Bower* (Watt), iv, 459. There was certainly a close affiliation between the earls of Strathearn and the bishops of Dunblane, as reflected in Earl Gille Brígte calling Bishop Jonathan "our bishop" and the earls being styled the "patron of the seat". *Inchaff. Chrs.*, nos. 9, 60. Interestingly, Dunblane, unlike Muthill, was not in Strathearn, but in Menteith. It could be, then, that the earls of Strathearn promoted Dunblane at the expense of the *céli Dé* of Muthill in order to extend their authority into the neighbouring province. More probably, however, Gille Brígte did not want to threaten the success of his own convent at Inchaffray by encouraging the *céli Dé* of the nearby church of Muthill.

[52]   *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club, 1843), i, 169.

[53]   *Ibid.*, i, 169; *ESC*, 235.

[54]   *St A. Lib.*, 369-75. See also W. Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands as they appear in history with an appendix of evidences* (rep. Felinfach, 1994), 54-6; W.F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alba*, 3 vols. (2nd edn. Edinburgh, 1880-87), ii, 389-92; W.D. Simpson, "The Augustinian Priory and the Parish Church of Monymusk, Aberdeenshire", *PSAS*, 59 (1925), 34-71.

[55]   *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. & ed. M. Swanton (rep. London, 1996), 213.

[56]   *A.B. Coll.*, i, 171. See the comments on this document made in *RRS*, i, 162-63.

Andrews.[57] It can consequently be hypothesised that Máel Coluim III gave thanks for his victory over the men of Máel Snechtae of Moray not by founding the church of Monymusk, but by endowing the existing house with more land, perhaps constructing a new church for the *céli Dé*,[58] and re-confirming the jurisdiction of the bishop of St Andrews.[59]

Significantly, although the bishop of St Andrews therefore enjoyed extensive control over the community of Monymusk, in contrast to Bishop Robert's aforementioned treatment of the *céli Dé* of Lochleven, there was apparently no episcopal attempt to suppress the *céli Dé* at this site.[60] Rather, the process whereby the *céli Dé* of Monymusk were brought into line with reformed religious life appears to have been initiated by the community itself with the support of the local native earl and subsequently achieved in the face of opposition from a bishop of St Andrews. This is evident from a collection of documents relating to the church of Monymusk from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries which were preserved in the *Great Register* of St Andrews.[61] For example, a charter of *c.* 1200 states that Earl Gille Críst of Mar had built a monastery "in the church of St Mary in which the *céli Dé* formerly were".[62] With subsequent Monymusk charters being addressed to "*Keledei sive canonici*" (*céli Dé* or canons) and "*canonici qui Keledei dicuntur*" (canons who are called *céli Dé*),[63] this must record, not the foundation of a totally new monastery, but Earl Gille Críst's active support for an attempt by the existing *céle Dé* community to convert to a canonical rule.

---

[57]   *St A. Lib.*, 369-75.

[58]   Boece recorded the tradition that Máel Coluim marked out the tower of the proposed new church in the earth with his sword. Cited in *A.B. Coll.*, i. 169. Interestingly, it was during this period that wooden churches in Ireland and Scotland were beginning to be re-built in stone. N. Cameron, "St Rule's Church, St Andrews and early stone-built churches in Scotland", *PSAS*, 124 (1994), 367-78.

[59]   M. Ash, "The diocese of St Andrews under its 'Norman' bishops", *Scottish Historical Review*, 55 (1976), 106-26, at 109, proposed that the bishop of St Andrews was Monymusk's original founder, and as such had a different relationship with that house than with other cells of St Andrew, such as Lochleven, Portmoak and Pittenweem, which were specifically granted to the see. See also *RRS*, i. 163.

[60]   Indeed, Bishop Robert of St Andrews was a patron of the *céli Dé* of Monymusk. *St A. Lib.*, 371.

[61]   *Ibid.*, 369-74.

[62]   *Ibid.*, 374. The exact date of the *céli Dé* of Monymusk's conversion is difficult to ascertain as the scribe who copied the house's charters excluded the witness-lists.

[63]   *Ibid.*, 362, 374.

In thus supporting the *céli Dé*, the earl can be seen as paralleling the aforementioned initiative taken by his contemporary, Earl Gille Brígte of Strathearn, to sponsor the brethren of Inchaffray's conversion to the Augustinian rule. Indeed, the ecclesiological developments that facilitated the near-simultaneous conversions of the communities of Inchaffray and Monymusk were probably very similar. Firstly, for example, that Monymusk continued to attract the patronage of the earls of Buchan and Mar suggests that, as at Inchaffray, the native clergy remained a living community.[64] Secondly, the charter confirming the convention between the bishop of St Andrews and the *céli Dé* of Monymusk moreover implies that the latter not only possessed an extensive pre-1200 patrimony, but also maintained their original collegiate discipline into the early thirteenth century.[65] Thirdly, that the community was also self-confident of its place in the greater Catholic church is apparent in its willingness to gain papal confirmation for its possessions.[66] Finally, that Earl Gille Críst granted/confirmed to the *céli Dé* a number of local churches, as attested to by Bishop John of Aberdeen's confirmation charter suggests that it had begun to play a more pastoral role in the religious life of the surrounding countryside.[67] Consequently, in common with Gille Brígte of Strathearn, Gille Críst of Mar (who was evidently conscious of continental-style religious life elsewhere in Scotland)[68] was able to demonstrate his piety and cultural awareness merely by harnessing and accelerating these developments and sponsoring the conversion, over a number of years, of the native community to the Augustinian rule.

The extant documents suggest that this transformation was initially accepted by the church hierarchy, including Bishop William Malvoisin of St Andrews.[69] However, sometime before 1210 Bishop William had either altered his opinion or realised the full implication of the proposed changes to the community of Monymusk and, acting in his

---

[64]   *Ibid.*, 370.
[65]   *Ibid.*, 370-2.
[66]   *Ibid.*, 375.
[67]   *Ibid.*, 374. The *céle Dé* house at Monymusk evidently did not have parochial status, however. *Ibid.*, 371. See also, I.B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Scottish Record Society, 1967), 5, 90, 111, 130, 137.
[68]   He had witnessed, for example, a number of grants made by other patrons to reformed convents. See, for example, *RRS*, II, nos. 284, 299; *Registrum de Dunfermlyn* (Bannatyne Club, 1842), no. 147.
[69]   For example, a charter from the bishop of St Andrews from 1209 recording his grant of the church of Keig demonstrates his acceptance of the change by styling the clergy of Monymusk "canons". *Ibid.*, 366. Confirmations from the local bishop, John of Aberdeen, likewise recognize the community as canons. *Ibid.*, 367, 374.

capacity as the ecclesiastical patron/abbot of the house,[70] tried to have them reversed. His displeasure is echoed in the papal response to the problem: "certain *céli Dé* who profess to be canons ... and certain others of the diocese of Aberdeen in the vill of Monymusk,[71] which pertained to him, do not fear to establish a kind of regular canonry in opposition to him ... to the prejudice and hurt of his church".[72] In response, in 1210 Pope Innocent III appointed the abbots of Dryburgh and Melrose and the archdeacon of Glasgow to investigate these claims and broker a settlement between the *céli Dé* and Bishop William.[73] Fortunately, the document recording the resulting convention between these two parties has survived.[74] Cited by many historians since,[75] the details of this confirmation reveal that the papal commissioners envisaged the following basic arrangement at the *céle Dé* house of Monymusk. There were to be twelve *céli Dé* and a prior. The prior, Bricius, was to be presented to the bishop of St Andrews for confirmation. When Bricius either retired or died, the bishop was to be presented with three members of the community, one of whom he would select as the new prior. The community was not to exceed thirteen in number. The *céli Dé* were also expressly forbidden to adopt "the life or order of monks or regular canons" without the consent of the bishop. Moreover, all those subsequently elected to the community had to swear before the bishop, or his representative, that they would adhere to these terms. In return, the bishop of St Andrews, acting as patron, confirmed the *céli Dé*'s patrimony and undertook to protect their rights. Regarding the actual structure of the community, the document reveals that in future "the *céli Dé* should have only one refectory and one dormitory in common, and one oratory without cemetery, and that the bodies of the *céli Dé* and of clerks or laymen who might die with them should receive the rights of sepulture at the parish church of Monymusk."

---

70   Ash, "The diocese of St Andrews", 109.
71   The principal one of these "others" so criticized was probably Earl Gille Críst of Mar, who, as has been suggested, probably sponsored the process whereby the *céli Dé* of Monymusk adopted a canonical rule. Gille Críst's involvement in this change is further implied by the fact that he was the only secular patron mentioned in the convention between the bishop of St Andrews and the *céli Dé*, in which the latter were criticized for accepting land from him without gaining episcopal assent. *St A. Lib.*, 372.
72   *Ibid.*, 371.
73   *Ibid.*, 370.
74   *Ibid.*, 370-2.
75   See, for example, *MRHS*, 93; Reeves, *Culdees*, 55-6, 137-8; Simpson, "The Augustinian Priory and the Parish Church of Monymusk", 43; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 390-1.

14

This is fascinating testimony for the study of old and new in the medieval Scottish church, not least because it appears to be a re-affirmation of the pre-reform arrangement at Monymusk. Thus, it arguably not only reveals some of the traditional rights and privileges which the bishop of St Andrews had regarding the staffing and leadership of the ancient church sites under his jurisdiction, but also affords a rare and valuable glimpse of the duties, rights and organization of a *céle Dé* community in the twelfth century. Its importance does not end here, however, for it also demonstrates that the main reason for Bishop William's opposition to the reform of the *céle Dé* community was that, by becoming canons, they threatened the parochial revenues of his church in the vill of Monymusk.[76] Accordingly, the convention denied the *céle Dé* house the enriching parochial privilege of sepulture.[77] Indeed, in burial a *céle Dé* was to be treated the same as any other parishioner of the bishop's church.

From this unique testimony two conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship between old and new in the medieval Scottish church. Firstly, it reveals that despite nearly one hundred years of foreign leadership at St Andrews, the bishops of that see remained conscious of the rights which they had inherited from their Gaelic predecessors. Secondly, that the bishops of St Andrews' policy towards native religious communities such as Lochleven and Monymusk was not dictated by an inherently anti-*céle Dé* sentiment, but rather by their concern to maintain their own privileges. Accordingly, just as the *céle Dé* community of Lochleven was probably transformed into a subordinate Augustinian priory in order to protect the bishop's cathedral priory, so too was the *céle Dé* community of Monymusk prevented from converting to a canonical rule and preserved as a subordinate native-style house to protect the parochial revenues of the bishop's local church. In the case of Monymusk, however, it appears as if the bishop of St Andrews' success was short-lived, for in May 1245 Pope Innocent IV issued a bull which was addressed to the "Prior and convent of Monymusk of the Order of St Augustine".[78] Whilst some historians have inferred from this evidence that the agreement of *c.* 1210 had led to the native community's decay and subsequent suppression,[79] it is more likely that

---

[76] *St A. Lib.*, 371, 372.
[77] J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), 186, highlighted how valuable this privilege was to a medieval parish church.
[78] *St A. Lib.*, 372.
[79] Reeves, *Culdees*, 56.

the *céli Dé* of Monymusk, maintained by strong priors and with the continued support of Earl Gille Críst of Mar's successor,[80] and perhaps also of the bishop of Aberdeen,[81] built upon their earlier attempt to convert to a reformed rule and finally gained recognition as Augustinian canons.

At Monymusk, as at Inchaffray, a tentative picture thus emerges of a functioning, late twelfth-century native community which, through the clergy's own desire to reform and, importantly, the sponsorship of a native comital family, was transformed into an Augustinian priory. Although this transformation took much longer to achieve at Monymusk than at Inchaffray, it nevertheless arguably provides another example of how continuity of both site and community could make the transition from old to new in medieval Scottish religious life effectively seamless.

Abernethy

Allegedly founded in honour of St Brigid by an early king of Picts,[82] by the early twelfth century Abernethy had evolved into a wealthy and influential religious site whose community comprised of a mixture of priests, lectors and *céli Dé*.[83] By the end of the twelfth century, however, its wealth had evidently been diminished and its status eclipsed by newly established reformed monasteries such as Arbroath Abbey, to which William the Lion (perhaps on the death of the hereditary abbot of Abernethy, Orm mac Áeda) had made a generous grant of old abbatial chapels and lands.[84] In spite of these developments, it is nonetheless apparent that the *céle Dé* component of the old church of Abernethy continued to survive under the protection

---

[80] Charters recording two of Earl Donnchad of Mar's grants to Monymusk survive, and both, significantly, continue to style the *céli Dé* canons. *St A. Lib.*, 362, 367.

[81] Two confirmation charters issued by Bishop Gilbert of Aberdeen 1228x1239 survive, and both continue to style the *céli Dé* canons. *Ibid.*, 367, 368.

[82] *Chron. Picts-Scots*, 6-7; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), ii, 301-5. Abernethy may have been the "house of the blessed Brigid" mentioned mentioned in the *Life of St Catroe*. *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. the Bollandists (Antwerp/Brussels, 1643-), March, i, 474-76; *ES*, i, 431-43. If so, then it provides the earliest reference to an abbot of Abernethy, the tenth-century Máclodair.

[83] Macquarrie, "Early Christian religious houses", 116-8.

[84] *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848-56) i, no. 35. For a discussion on the re-organization of the Abernethy estates, see J.M. Rogers, "The Formation of the Parish Unit and Community in Perthshire" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1992), 220-32.

of a member of the traditional abbatial dynasty.[85] For example, in his aforementioned grant to the Tironensians of Arbroath, William stressed that the *céli Dé* of Abernethy were to continue to enjoy their ancient estate.[86] This was a quite substantial patrimony, including as it did not only half of the abbot's own teinds, but also the teinds owing from his demesne, "namely from Mugdrum, Carpow, Balcolly, Balehirewell, and Innernethy to the east of the burn".

Whilst this would suggest that the *céle Dé* remnant of the old church of Abernethy remained a powerful economic force in the area, their religious functions by this time are difficult to assess. Certainly, with those chapels which had once pertained to Abernethy now in the possession of Arbroath Abbey, it is perhaps unlikely that they performed an organized pastoral role in the surrounding countryside.[87] It would appear, however, that the re-organization of the Abernethy estate was primarily designed to restore the abbatial lands, churches and revenues to their original ecclesiastical purpose.[88] That their teindal revenues were confirmed on this occasion suggests that the *céli Dé* maintained a religious function. They certainly appear to have maintained their collegiate discipline, with documents dating from 1214 and 1235-1239 recording the existence of a prior of the Abernethy *céli Dé*.[89] Interestingly, the prior referred to in the later document was called Andreas, which Professor Cowan took to be a Latin rendering of the Gaelic name Gille Andrais.[90] If this is the case, then it would suggest that the community continued to be led by a Gaelic cleric and hence probably preserved its Gaelic religious and cultural character.

Unfortunately, the mention of Prior Andreas in 1239 is the last extant notice pertaining to the *céle Dé* community at Abernethy before its conversion to the Augustinian rule in 1273. This lengthy hiatus in the evidence, combined with the fact that the only record of Abernethy's transformation is the terse statement preserved in the

---

85   Whilst distinct at the beginning of the twelfth century (*ESC*, no. 14), it is possible that the *céle Dé* and clerical sections of the community of Abernethy had merged by the end of the 1100s.
86   *Arb. Lib.*, i, no. 35.
87   Abernethy may once have had a pastoral function. For example, the *sacerdotes* of Abernethy referred to in the charter of 1114X1124 possibly served the compact group of local chapels which were associated with their monastery. Macquarrie, "Early Christian religious houses", 117-8.
88   Rogers, "The Formation of the Parish", 228.
89   *Arb. Lib.*, i, no. 214; *Lind. Cart.*, nos. 51, 54.
90   *MRHS*, 46.

Scotichronicon that "In this year the priory of Abernethy became an establishment for canons regular. They had previously been *céli Dé*",[91] consequently makes it difficult to ascertain by whom and through what process this conversion was achieved. In the light of the role played by Earl Gille Brígte at Inchaffray and Earl Gille Críst at Monymusk, however, it is possible that the impetus for change at Abernethy came from a member of the local dynasty with which it was closely associated, i.e. the lords of Abernethy. This suspicion is strengthened when it is noted that it was a member of this dynasty who was behind the subsequent transformation of Abernethy's Augustinian priory into a collegiate church during the fourteenth century.[92] It could be, then, that as head of this family in 1273,[93] Hugh of Abernethy was the secular driving force behind the conversion of the *céle Dé* community to the Augustinian rule at Abernethy.

Whether Hugh presided over the expulsion of the existing clergy at Abernethy, or if they simply became the priory's first regular canons, is less easy to discern. Once more, however, the precedents set by earlier conversions of native religious sites can help to illuminate the problem. It is evident, for instance, that at Inchaffray and Monymusk the native community formed the core of the new Augustinian priory. Even at Lochleven there were provisions made by David I and Bishop Robert for *céli Dé* to remain at the site. It thus seems unlikely that the *céle Dé* community of Abernethy would have been "disposed of"[94] during the events of 1273; a view arguably supported by the wording of the above-quoted extract from the *Scotichcronicon*.[95] It may be, however, that as suggested for Inchaffray, a core of experienced canons from an established Augustinian house were introduced to Abernethy in order to complete the transition from traditional to reformed community. Thus, Bishop Spottiswoode asserted that Abernethy "became a priory of canons brought from Inchaffray in the

---

[91]   *Chron. Bower* (Watt), v, 399. This testimony is corroborated by the mention of a reformed house and prior of Abernethy in Bagimond's taxation rolls for 1274-5 and 1275-6. *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*. ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864), no. 264.
[92]   *MRHS*, 215.
[93]   *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul, 7 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-14). vii. 399-401.
[94]   Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 400.
[95]   For example, the statement that Abernethy had become a house of canons regular was qualified by the remark that "They had previously been *céli Dé*". *Chron. Bower* (Watt), v, 399.

year 1273".[96] Whilst this uncorroborated claim has been dismissed,[97] it could nevertheless represent a basically sound tradition that a task-force of veteran canons from Inchaffray Abbey was despatched to help implement the Augustinian rule at the newly established priory of Abernethy.

Why Hugh of Abernethy should have requested help from the Augustinian convent of Inchaffray, rather than from the more senior priory of St Andrews, is admittedly not immediately apparent. Around the time of the conversion of Abernethy, however, Hugh of Abernethy married Moire, daughter of Eógan of Argyll,[98] whose previous marriage to Earl Máel Ísu of Strathearn would have brought her into close contact with the Augustinian convent at Inchaffray.[99] It may be, therefore, that Hugh used his new wife's connections with Inchaffray to accomplish the conversion of his community at Abernethy. Indeed, it is entirely possible that it was on Moire's initiative that this process was initially instigated.

Whatever the case, during a period when the passion for establishing convents of reformed monks and canons was all but spent, the patronage of a local dynasty appears once more to have stimulated the transformation of a surviving *céle Dé* site into an Augustinian priory. If so, then the descendant of the abbots of Abernethy had not only preserved his family's traditional intimate relationship with the church and through it with local religious society as a whole, but also helped emphasize that even in a time of great ecclesiastical change, a fundamental thread of continuity bound Christian life in the area to the earliest days of the church in Strathearn.

Conclusion

Whether or not the introduction of reformed monasticism into Scotland during the twelfth century made the decline of native forms of communal religious life inevitable is open to debate. That the houses discussed above were converted over a period of 160 years certainly does not suggest that there was an organized purge of native communities. Events at Lochleven and Monymusk imply rather that

---

[96] J. Spottiswoode, *An account of all the religious houses that were in Scotland at the time of the Reformation*, in R. Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops* (Edinburgh, 1824), 393. No authority is cited, however.

[97] *MRHS*, 89.

[98] Earl Máel Ísu had died in 1271 and Moire subsequently married Hugh sometime before 1275. *Scots Peerage*, vii, 401.

[99] As earl of Strathearn, Máel Ísu was the hereditary patron of Inchaffray Abbey, to which he made a number of grants. *Inchaff. Chrs.*, nos. 86, 87, 97.

stability and the protection of episcopal rights were considered more important by progressive churchmen than the reform of native sites which, despite their idiosyncrasies, evidently maintained their basic religious character and function. Thus, whilst the communities of Abernethy, Inchaffray and Monymusk may have been viewed by the reformers with cultural distaste, they were evidently not considered to be either heterodox or ecclesiologically extra-Catholic. Indeed, that at least two of the communities sought confirmation of their property and rights from the post-Gregorian papacy (an institution not noted for tolerating non-conformity) demonstrates that they clearly perceived themselves to be integral members of both the Scottish church and the greater Catholic polity.

In spite of this apparent orthodoxy, by the end of the thirteenth century no pre-reform community in Alba remained unaltered by continental religious influences. The reason for this is not that native practices had been extirpated, but simply that they had gone out of fashion. For example, due primarily to contact with Anglo-Norman England, the ruling class in twelfth-century Scotland adopted many of the *mores* and ideals of Frankish society.[100] One of the distinguishing characteristics of this culture was patronage of the new orders of monks and canons. Indeed, it was depicted as an essential act of nobility. Orderic Vitalis thus remarked that "Every one of the great men of Normandy would have thought himself beneath contempt if he had not made provision out of his estates for clerks and monks to serve in the army of God".[101] This correlation between Frankish cultural influence and support for the new orders explains not only why the initial growth of reformed monasticism in Scotland was due largely to the patronage of David I, whose connections with Anglo-Norman England are well documented,[102] but also why the majority of convents established by native patrons were founded in the thirteenth century.[103] It was only by the end of the twelfth century, for instance, that foreign

---

[100] For the most comprehensive treatment of this subject, see R.L.G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954). This "francocization" was far from unique to Scotland, being a Europe-wide phenomenon. R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change 950-1350* (London, 1993).

[101] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. & trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1968-80), ii, 10.

[102] See, for example, J.A. Green, "David I and Henry I", *SHR*, 75 (1996), 1-16. For his patronage of the new religious orders, see C. Brooke, "David I as a connoisseur of the religious orders", *Medievalia Christiania XI-XIII Siecles* (Paris, 1989), 319-42.

[103] The notable exception being the houses founded by Fergus of Galloway. D. Brooke, *Fergus the King* (Whithorn, 1991), 7-11.

influences began to have a serious impact upon native earldoms benorth the Forth, such as Mar and Strathearn. Earl Gille Brígte thus not only married into a notable Anglo-French family, but also undertook the partial feudalization of his earldom.[104] Both he and Gille Críst of Mar, moreover, were active at the court of the allegedly francophile William the Lion.[105] Here they would have been drawn into the "charmed circle"[106] of French chivalric culture and made fully aware of the fashionableness of patronising the new religious orders.[107]

As highlighted above, rather than found wholly new convents, these native nobles decided to demonstrate their piety and cultural sophistication by sponsoring the conversion of existing native communities to the Augustinian rule. Interestingly, they appear to have been assisted in this endeavour (at least at Inchaffray and Monymusk, and possibly also at Abernethy) by the willingness of the existing clergy themselves to reform. It is possible that the clergy themselves had come to appreciate that as the new monasteries attracted the patronage and privileges which they had once enjoyed, they were in danger of being marginalized, both spiritually and economically, in the increasingly regulated *ecclesia Scoticana*. This realization of the need to self-reform, not to say conform, would have doubtless become more acute as the reformed monastic community expanded. Fortunately for both patrons and clergy, in contrast to the Benedictine rule (especially as espoused by orders such as the Cistercians), the Augustinian rule offered relatively flexible guidelines for a regular life which could be readily adapted to encompass local customs.[108] It was therefore ideally suited to the peaceful and consensual reform of traditional communities.

Whilst their adoption of the Augustinian rule may have therefore altered their internal organization and perhaps even created a more

---

[104] Duncan, *Scotland*, 179.

[105] See, for example, *RRS*, ii, nos. 251, 284, 299, 344, 347. For William's alleged francophile tendencies, see G.W.S. Barrow, "The Reign of William the Lion", rep. in *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), 67-89; Duncan, *Scotland*, 174-215.

[106] R.R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990), 51.

[107] Both men witnessed a number of royal grants to reformed convents. For example, *RRS*, ii, nos. 284, 299, 414. Notably, Gille Críst of Mar was also connected with the mission of the papal legate John of Salerno to Scotland in 1201-2. A. Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560* (rep. Edinburgh, 1997), 32-3.

[108] As is reflected in the diversity of communities in medieval Britain which adopted the rule. J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), 43-56.

distinct division between religious and laity, the conversion of these native houses, in the initial period of reform at least, would have arguably had little impact on the perceptions of the surrounding area's populace. The monastery would have sat where it had done for generations, dominating the countryside, demanding respect, perhaps inspiring devotion, but most importantly providing a tangible symbol of the constancy of the Christian experience in Alba.